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# **The United States Senate**

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## **Report of Proceedings**

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### **Hearing held before**

Subcommittee of the  
Committee on Foreign Relations

S. 138

TO PROVIDE AID TO PERSONS IN THE UNITED STATES  
DESIROUS OF MIGRATING TO THE REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA

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June 4, 1953

Washington, D. C.

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## C O N T E N T S

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S. 138

TO PROVIDE AID TO PERSONS IN THE UNITED STATES  
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Thursday, June 4, 1953

United States Senate,  
Subcommittee of the Committee on  
Foreign Relations,  
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to recess, at 4:40 p.m.,  
in Room 424, Senate Office Building, Senator William Langer  
presiding.

Present: Senator Langer (presiding).

Also present: Mr. Holt of the committee staff;

Nicholas Feld, Officer in Charge, West  
Central and East African Affairs, Department of State.

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Senator Langer. The meeting will come to order.

You say you wanted to open the meeting with prayer? Go  
ahead, if you want to.

(Mr. Barnett delivered a prayer.)

Senator Langer. Call your next witness.

Mr. Cox. If the Senator wishes to hear from any of these  
other colored people first, they may proceed.

Senator Langer. The witnesses have all been sworn, they

were all sworn yesterday. Will you proceed?

TESTIMONY OF THEODORE R. MARTIN,  
SECOND VICE PRESIDENT, UNIVERSAL AFRICAN  
NATIONALIST MOVEMENT, INC.

Mr. Martin. Mr. Chairman, my name is Theodore R. Martin. I live at 2566 Center Avenue, Pittsburgh 19, Pennsylvania.

I am forty years of age. I am the Second Vice President of Universal African Nationalist Movement, Incorporated.

My reasons for wanting the passage of this legislation are that Africa, Liberia, West Africa, is similar to our national government here, there being nothing foreign or alien to our people if we are permitted the opportunity to settle there and to cultivate and build the country to the status that we have in mind, with the existence of our national government today.

We feel that with the many thousands of our young men and women coming out of the colleges in the United States, whose opportunities are limited because of a place not being prepared for them, to take their skilled trades and to put them in operation, with an opportunity like this, where Africa is calling for its sons and daughters to come home once again, and to build a country we, being a part of that great heritage, want to return there and do something concrete for our people.

We love the American Government because it has been a haven for our people. It has sheltered us when we were

friendless; it has built us to the point where the American black man is recognized as a very intelligent man amongst our people. The skills and the opportunities that we have not had the opportunity to get at this particular time, we would like that, to come from our national government, that we might build Liberia, West Africa, since it is a ward of the United States Government, to the status whereby we could be a people and find our place in the sun, with the blessings coming from this Government.

We feel that our people, in fact we know our people, since Liberia has opened its doors -- it has plenty of land undeveloped; it has resources that are untapped at this time awaiting for its sons to come there with the technical skill and knowledge to put them in operation. We believe that we have that skill in our people in the United States.

We know that if we are given the opportunity that we can develop it and be of assistance to our national government here whereby we can be friends for ever and ever because there is a bond that exists between our hearts, that we know that these two governments are similar in action; their money is the same; their government set-up is the same; they speak the English language. It is the only language that we know.

We can understand one another. It is nothing foreign to us whereby we would be confused and be left out in the wilderness where we would have to have an interpreter or something to

tell us what the other fellow is saying, but we know right off, and we appreciate the fact to the extent that we would like to take advantage of this opportunity now, but we lack the necessary finances, and that is the reason why we are calling upon our Government to help us in this matter.

Thank you, Senator.

Senator Langer. Thank you for your very, very fine statement.

Call the next witness.

TESTIMONY OF SOLOMON L. ESTELL.

Mr. Estell. My name is Solomon L. Estell, residing in Pittsburgh, 1617 Webster Ave, Zone 19.

One of my purposes here with this group is that I have been thinking in my mind heretofore why and what right I have to want to go to Liberia, Africa, because I would not know any other place to start to after leaving America, except it would be over there.

I am now at the age of 60 years, and we have been promised for the last few years that we will try to reach just what other place would be best for us or be sent there, yet we have never given up. We continue to try to accomplish what we started for.

Since that has happened, we feel that there are resources in the earth over there enough to produce whatsoever we might take over in Liberia. There are minerals, there are ores, steel, coal, and other minerals, agriculture; we feel that

through that we can get production out of that, and reach a good and normal living and livelihood, that we might be able to get along if we once get over there and get started, and that is why we are coming around today.

(2)

We have in mind that we do have a right to such things if we can ever reach them, and if we can ever reach over there through the powers of this great government here, then it would be a blessing on their part to provide and help to make some preparation that we might reach there. So that we have in mind to work along with the government, and with each government, both this and the Liberian government, in order that we might reach the destination where we are striving to go.

Thank you.

Senator Langer. Call your next witness.

TESTIMONY OF SAMUEL A. BARNETT--(resumed)

Mr. Barnett. Senator, my chief desire in going to Liberia is what is really set forth in our memorandum which has been submitted to this government and all the other governments which have to do with land where the descendants of Africa, during the slave trade, have been domiciled.

This same memorandum has been submitted to the United States, it is the same to Great Britain, it is the same to France, and the same to Holland, all those nations that have to do with the Caribbean areas, they have the same memorandum.

Our plan, then, to go to Africa is to do the things that

we cannot do here, not that we are finding any fault with these nations and the government, for they have nestled us from our infancy and given us the opportunity to learn the arts and the trades and other necessary understanding which we have today. So with them our principles and our hearts are as one, but we are just looking for a different outlet to develop what we have gleaned from them, to show that we have learned our business properly, and to work according to their wish that they may seek while we are here, perhaps, as drones -- we are not drones, but if they give us the chance by helping us financially to go there, I know that the day will come when they are happy that they have taken the responsibility upon themselves to help us to settle there for in all our doings and all our activity there, and whatever we gain from the earth, America, yes, this America, shall be the first one to call in to take from us what we can dispose of, and what the American Government cannot use, and then other governments may have a chance to take their position.

Senator Langer. I believe you told us yesterday you were a clergyman?

Mr. Barnett. Sir?

Senator Langer. What denomination?

Mr. Barnett. I am a Baptist.

Senator Langer. A Baptist. You said you were 90 years of age?

Mr. Barnett. 93.

Senator Langer. You certainly made a very fine statement yesterday. I enjoyed it very, very much.

Who is your next witness?

TESTIMONY OF EARNEST SEVIER COX

Mr. Cox. My name is Earnest Sevier Cox. I give the full name because I have done a good deal of writing for this movement, and always sign it Earnest Sevier Cox. I live at 924 East Main Street, Richmond, Virginia. Am I supposed to tell the age, too?

Senator Langer. No, that is not necessary.

You understand that you have all the time you want, and do not hurry yourself, but give us a full and complete statement. We have got all afternoon and all evening.

Mr. Cox. I appreciate very much your making that because I am always a bit nervous thinking that I might take up too much time in a matter like this.

Mr. Chairman, you have mentioned once or twice about the petitions that were in support of this measure, and I have here a recognition that the Greater Liberia bill which these groups have grown out of -- they are all akin, these organizations, and they are, in fact, three in full support of this measure, the Universal Negro Improvement Association with headquarters in Liberia -- you have a letter, I think, from James Stewart, the head of it, in support of this measure, and I here

am commissioned by the Peace Movement of Ethiopia, the Executive Council, to represent them at any time in which they do not have a full representation, in any measure concerning this.

This is the excerpt from Senator Bilbo's speech on April 24, 1939, in the Senate of the United States:

"The most gratifying thing in my life is to be able today to present to the American Congress petitions signed by two and one-half million American Negroes pleading and begging for a physical separation of the races."

Here is a quote from the Vice President:

"The petitions presented by the Senator from Mississippi will be received and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations."

I saw them. The sheets were 50 names to the sheet, and were stacked way up, and then there were two smaller petitions, 2,300,000-odd from the Peace Movement of Ethiopia, and the rest of it was from the other groups, and Senator Bilbo states further that these petitions represented individuals from every state of the Union.

I wish to state here that were Jefferson and Lincoln alive they would give wholehearted and unreserved support to this bill that you have introduced.

3) Jefferson, throughout his adult life, in 1777, when he introduced in the Virginia General Assembly a measure, a colonizing measure, until the time of his death, is on record many,

many times in support of aid, giving aid, to the American Negroes and to repatriate their race into their African homeland.

I will read from one statement of Jefferson because it is just two years before his death. It is a letter to George Sparks, and it is found in Jefferson's Works, Volume 7, page 332. It reads as follows:

"The article on the African colonization of people of color to which you invite my attention I have read with great consideration. It is indeed a fine one and will do much good. I learned from it more today than I have before known of the degree of success and promise of that colony. In the disposition of this unfortunate people there are two rational objects to be distinctly kept in view: First, the establishment of a colony on the coast of Africa which may introduce among the aborigines the arts of cultivated life and the blessings of civilization and science. By doing this we may make to them some retribution for the long course of injuries we have been committing on their population. The second object, and the most interesting to us as coming home to our physical and moral character, to our happiness and safety, is to provide an asylum by which we can by degrees send the whole of that population from among us, and establish them under our patronage and our protection as a free and independent people in some country and climate friendly to human life and happiness. I do not

go into all the details of the burdens and benefits of this operation, and who could estimate its blessed effects? I leave this to those who will live to see their accomplishment and to enjoy a beatitude forbidden to my age. But I leave it with this admonition, to rise and be doing."

Jefferson was 78 -- I do not remember how old he was -- it was in 1824 when he wrote this, and he died in 1826.

I stated that President Lincoln, were he alive, would support this measure wholeheartedly. I wish to read from the Emancipation Proclamation:

"I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States and commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy thereof, do hereby proclaim and declare that it is my purpose, upon the meeting of Congress, to again recommend the immediate and gradual abolishment of slavery and that the effort to colonize persons of African descent, with their consent, upon this continent or elsewhere, with the previously obtained consent of the government existing there, will be continued."

That is an excerpt from the Emancipation Proclamation.

But nothing in the record, his record, his historical record, would show President Lincoln's interest, human interest in this movement and in these people more so than the time that he called them into the White House -- he brought in quite a group of them, and spoke at great length, and I will give the ending of his speech to the Negroes in the White House.

Senator Langer. Why don't you put the whole speech in the record?

Mr. Cox. I could do that.

Senator Langer. Surely. If you want to put it in why, you have it filed, but read the last part of it anyhow.

Mr. Cox. I have used one of these quotations from Lincoln many times: "To cut their own fodder" -- this is a White House address:

"Could I get a hundred tolerable intelligent men with their wives and children and able to cut their own fodder, so to speak, and I have fifty; if I could find twenty-five able-bodied men with mixture of women and children, good things in family relations, I think I would make a successful commencement. I want you to let me know whether this can be done or not. This is the practical part of my wish to see you. These are subjects of very great importance worthy of a month's study instead of a speech delivered in an hour. I ask you then to consider this seriously not pertaining to yourselves merely, not for your race and ourselves at the present time, but as one of the things if successfully managed for the good of mankind, not confined to the present generation but as from age to age descends the light to millions yet to be, until far its echoes roll away into eternity."

I want to state that this whole movement of return of the Negro to Africa was conceived by a Negro, the initial movement.

Paul Cuffe, a free Negro of Massachusetts, grown up to a sea captain, owned ships of his own, and in 1811 he, with a crew of Negro seamen, traveled to Sierra Leone on the West Coast of Africa and made arrangements there to receive immigrants from America.

In 1812, the next year, the war started, the second war between Britain and America, and Cuffe could not continue his work; but in 1817 he carried out a shipload of Negroes to Africa, and it was that year that Cuffe died, and the American Colonization Society was formed to come to the aid of Cuffe and to those others who wished to continue the movement.

It has been my pleasure, my distinction, that since the Negro was made a citizen of the United States, with one exception, I have been closely associated with all the colonization leaders, closely associated. That exception was Bishop Henry Turner. I think I have Turner's statement. His prestige among the members of his race was great during my youth. I did not know him personally, but I did know William P. Pickett, author of "The Negro Problem: Abraham Lincoln's Solution." I have here a communication from Bishop Turner dated January 12, 1907:

"I pray God that you will continue in the great work in which you are engaged and move this country to help the Negro to emigrate to the land of his ancestors. I know all about Africa. I have been from one end of it to the other. I have visited that continent as often as I have fingers on my hand,

and it is one of the richest continents under Heaven in natural resources. This country is not compared to it, and millions of colored people in this country would want to go."

He was a Methodist bishop.

Shortly after Turner had written to Pickett, the letter that I have quoted from, there emerged a man of extraordinary distinction, a great publicist, Marcus Garvey, and Garvey knew how to fan the latent coals of the fire that is in the heart of any race if it wishes to remain a race and have a nation of its own, and at one time they claimed a membership of 6,000,000.

Now, the Garvey organization might be considered the first of the three groups that we are talking about here; and then the Peace Movement of Ethiopia was organized in the early thirties, during the depression, asking President Roosevelt to take steps that would convert the relief funds received by American Negroes into a fund that would aid Negroes to migrate to Africa and take up homesteads in Liberia, and it was that organization that circulated the petition in many parts of America, and got the 2,300,000 names upon it.

I represented the Peace Movement of Ethiopia before the General Assembly of Virginia, and that body memorialized the Congress to assist this movement, and I take note that the words of the memorial were strikingly that of President Lincoln's Message to the Congress. I am not going to go into detail.

Senator Langer. What year was this?

Mr. Cox. In 1936.

In 1938 the movement got into the Congress here for the first time since it was stricken from the hands of Abraham Lincoln. I will be pleased to state, Mr. Chairman, the indirect results of a filibuster on a Civil Rights bill led to the introduction of the Greater Liberia bill.

When Virginia memorialized the Congress, a Northern man, a very rich man, wanted to do something for the movement, and wanted to put some colonization literature before the members of the Congress because the subject had not been discussed for seventy years. This wealthy Northern man selected my book, "White America" for distribution, and Senator Bilbo was reading "White America" on the Floor of the Senate, killing his time in the filibuster, and in "White America" it is stated many times that the only way out of our situation was separation or amalgamation; that between two races who are in contact, that the only solutions that are possible of a race problem would be to mix their bloods or separate the races. As long as they held in contact there will be the race problem, and the only solution was separation or amalgamation.

Senator Bilbo, after spending a day or two killing his time reading the book, stated on the Floor of the Senate that he favored separation. The press reported him, and immediately the Peace Movement of Ethiopia contacted him, and within a very

short while the other groups were in touch with them. That accounts for the introduction of the Greater Liberia bill. I think it is something that these gentlemen and lady here all would like to know. That is how it got in.

I want to again call attention that all the groups in America, of the Negro groups on colonization, are behind this particular bill, and I want to refer to the value of the United States for this Negro group of our Negroes in West Africa.

I am reading from a manuscript that I am preparing for publication, and will just read excerpts from it:

"The influence of the new nation will extend deep into Negro Africa and will rapidly improve the cultural standards of the native population. It would vitally increase the trade between Africa and America. Such restoration would bind the repatriated Negro to the United States in a spiritual bond that would not be severed, and place this strategic westernmost part of Africa in the possession of a powerful Negro people, grateful to the American people for their sympathy and aid in the Negro's effort to advance his race and the cultural and political power.

"Extending the borders of Liberia, and greatly increasing the present limited African government of wholly Negro people, probably would not be a difficult task. These lands are under the political control of France and Great Britain. Each of these nations took part in severing the Negro from Africa. Each

of them have possessions in the Western world whose inhabitants are largely of African Negro descent. Negro immigrants from these French and British possessions, aided by their respective nations, would be received in the new nation on terms of equality with immigrants from the United States. The American race problem has been more than 300 years in the making. It can be solved gloriously in a much less period of time by a sustained aid for our Negroes who desire a national home of their own in the land of their ancestors."

The first vessels that were sent to Liberia went out in 1823. The presence in Africa of a nation ruled theoretically by an American corporation, that is, the American Colonization Society, led to certain of the European nations affirming that the status of Liberia was without precedent. This charge led to the American Colonization Society relinquishing its control in 1847. That year the people of the colony formed the Republic of Liberia under a constitution essentially like that of the United States. Its constitution limits citizenship to Negroes. The only part that I took in the Greater Liberia bill, and it was a massive thing -- I was not familiar with that sort of procedure, Mr. Chairman -- was that I had a communication from the distinguished Senator, and he wanted to know how to keep whites out of Liberia, and I told him to make it such American citizens who would be qualified by Liberian citizenship. That would keep the whites out, because if the

whites put a movement there and aided them, like we wished to do these colored people, the whites would take the country.

Senator Langer. Mr. Cox, I am a little bit puzzled. How do you define a Negro?

Mr. Cox. Well, defined in America it is one drop of Negro makes a Negro, so far as the Southern color line is concerned, but they are practical people down there.

h(6)fls.

Senator Langer. Just one drop?

Mr. Cox. Well, that is an old statement, one drop of blood makes a Negro. All the Negroes have heard that, all the Southern Negroes have heard that, but to be practical -- it is not practical, it is a theory.

Senator Langer. Under the Constitution of Liberia any person who had a drop of white blood could not become a citizen?

Mr. Cox. They would have to do their own defining, Mr. Chairman; and the fact that Roberts was an octoroon, and the most distinguished of their presidents, was a Virginia octoroon, and a very successful businessman over there, would show you that Liberia could handle that end of it all right. He was an octoroon, not a mulatto, not one-fourth, just one-eighth.

Senator Langer. Your theory is then that that would be a problem for the Parliament of Liberia, the Congress of Liberia?

Mr. Cox. That would be for Liberia.

Senator Langer. They would take care of that under the screening process.

Mr. Cox. Yes. In fact, some of the mixed breeds in this nation, many of them support this bill. Some of them oppose it, such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, they have opposed it. But Mrs. Gordon, M. L. Gordon, is a mixed breed, and so is Bishop Turner. Garvey, the greatest of all of them, and this gentleman here, they are not; they are black folk.

Senator Langer. Upon what theory does the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People oppose this bill? Why do they oppose it?

Mr. Cox. They will not take part in it. I presume they wish to see the other solution -- that is only a presumption. It is either separation or amalgamation in the long run, we know that. These Negroes here know it just as well as I know it, that there is no other way to stop a race problem except to mix the races or separate them.

The National Association opposed Garvey, and took much opposition to him, and he said that they were the ones that caused his indictment, and I have seen a letter from a sub-official stating that they would not support this bill, that they would not support it; but I have not a letter -- I have not seen a statement from the higher officials.

The charge that there was an American corporation founding the nation was pointed out as without precedent. This charge led to the American Colonization Society relinquishing control in 1857. Its constitution limits citizenship to Negroes -- so does Haiti. It prohibits laws which would forbid new immigrants.

The American Colonization Society, through a treaty with the new nation, retained important areas for settlement by American Negroes, and the American Colonization Society is still an existing corporation.

The tactical value to the United States of the Republic of

Liberia is as an outpost or area of defense and as a halfway station to the war theaters in Europe and the Near East, and was recognized by the American High Command in the second world war.

The United States spent \$5 million in building an air base, and \$18 million in constructing a harbor in that country.

Liberia lies about 1600 miles from Brazil. It is the nearest point in the old world to the new world.

A chief value of Liberia to the Western world lies in the fact that its geographical location in Africa fits it for being a port of entry into the extraordinary wealth in natural resources found in the Western prolongation of the African Continent.

The Republic of Liberia has an area of 43,000 square miles. Its native population is estimated to be approximately two and a half million. It is governed by Negroes of American descent. Its climate is such that while some white men there go without their hats, its wealth in natural resources is very great.

(7) Crops can be raised the year around. A well-known English authority, the late Sir Harry Johnston, and a well-known American authority, the late Dr. Frederick Starr, estimated that Liberia is capable of sustaining 20 million inhabitants. If industrialized as is Belgium, the densest populated nation of Europe, the number living in Liberia could be much greater than 20 million. Belgium has 710 people to the square mile; Liberia has less than 40. If the Liberian population should reach 20 million, there would still be but 465 people to the square mile.

I think that some of the others should speak, these colored folks, now.

Senator Langer. Mr. Gibbons testified yesterday. Have you some other witnesses here?

TESTIMONY OF JAFUS BOYD

Mr. Boyd. Honorable Chairman, members of the assembly, my name is Jafus Boyd. I live at 1627 Webster Avenue, Pittsburgh, 19.

My reason for wanting to go to Liberia is this: First, it would give me an opportunity to work, to help build and develop, and to show the people in Liberia the things that you people have taught us over here since we have been here in America, and that is all our lives, and this is all we know anything about. We feel that when we go to Liberia we would still be at home because the rule, the law and order, are practically the same.

Then we feel like we have a right to ask you to please, sir, support the measure in sending us there. It dates back to the time, from the time that we were brought here. We served in every war that there has been since there has been a black man on American soil.

We fought, and then we served and labored as slaves for 270 years, and I am sure that this afternoon, when we ask you for your support, if you think back over the record, you will find that we have been trustworthy, you will find that we have been humble, and I am sure that you know that we are people who will not betray a trust when it comes to the act of treason, and

we want to go there to work.

We want to go to show what we have learned here in America, and that America has the high standard, the highest standard, the world has ever known. We can improve it because we can carry it there, and people from all over the world who come there from America will give America credit for being a heaven on earth, and since it is, it is true why not spread it to the backward areas?

Liberia needs me, and I want to go not because we have been ill-treated or we find any fault with America, that is not the point. But if I can do good, send me. We ask that you pass the bill, the measure, in order that we might have the finances to go there and work, to show the people in Liberia that America can produce men, black men and women, equal to any nation on the face of the globe.

I want to take time to say I thank you for this privilege, sir, and I do not want to spend too much of your time, but I feel like talking and pleading for black men in this country.

It has been a pleasure to have these few remarks, and I thank you very, very kindly.

Senator Langer. Call your next witness.

TESTIMONY OF CHRISTINA A. PATRICK

Mrs. Patrick. Mr. Chairman, my name is Christina A. Patrick; I live at 1536 Webster Avenue, Pittsburgh 19, Pennsylvania. My reason here for this bill to Africa is because that is my father-

land, not because the great Government of the United States has not been for the black people, but we are of African blood and descent and, therefore, it is our fatherland, and we are longing to go back to our fatherland so that we may till the soil and repay some of the kindness that these United States have done for us. Thank you.

Senator Langer. Call your next witness.

TESTIMONY OF LLOYD FOSTER

Mr. Foster. My name is Lloyd Foster, 2253 Bloomer Way, Pittsburgh. My reason for being here is to help to represent the African movement. I do not have much to say. I am in favor of what has been said and I thank you very much.

TESTIMONY OF BENJAMIN GIBBONS -- resumed

Mr. Gibbons. Mr. Chairman, with your permission, I think all the witnesses have spoken today who have not spoken yesterday, and with your permission I would like to read a plan of operation we have in mind into the record.

Senator Langer. Go ahead.

I might say to your distinguished listeners that they are listening, perhaps, to one of the greatest orators in America. I have had the pleasure of hearing him upon a platform and in the pulpit, and he is a marvelously gifted speaker.

Mr. Gibbons. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

For any socio-economic plan such as ours to succeed, certain indispensable agents must be available in correct

proportions. These agents are: Land, labor, capital and organization. In other words, there must be present the essential factors of resources, manpower, machinery, finance and efficient management. Having the advantage of these agents and the degree to which all of them can be effectively coordinated, will determine the productivity, success and survival of the plan.

The extent to which these productive agents are at hand and how well can they be put in proper order are here discussed.

Liberia has a vast amount of fertile unoccupied land. Where labor is concerned, the immigrants with the population of Liberia suggest an ample supply. Regarding capital, at the moment this particular factor is purely prospective. Except for the outlook on production of labor through tilling the soil and other developments, there is no ready capital. Organization would be to form the settlers into communities of rural and urban groups on a preferential basis. The rural settlers would be those to engage in agricultural production and the production of raw material. The urban settlers would be those to process and market all production. Thus the creation of employment.

The rural and urban communities would, therefore, be harmonized into a single working group. A planning board to coordinate their functions is necessary.

The soil of Liberia is virgin and is capable of producing large quantities of tropical vegetation for food; other important crops such as cotton, cocoa, corn, rice, sugar cane, wheat, et

cetera; palm kernal and other oil seeds are indigenous in that country

The economy of the new settlers together with the population of Liberia is viewed in various distinctive phases and may be classified as the following: Commercial and industrial agriculture, housing, health, education, other industries, general business and community services.

Commercial and industrial agriculture could be made a profitable business in Liberia. Including the new settler and the people that are already there, a useable market is substantial.

Agricultural products should be on the basis of seeds. Agricultural implements to be imported with regards to actual farmer's needs. Special regard should be given to the import of such types of farm implements that do not cause soil erosion after a few years. Together with the Liberian Department of Agriculture it would be necessary to establish an experimental agricultural station for the purpose of crop improvement and combating crop diseases, thus improving both quality and yield of crops. Questions of crop selection and rotation, et cetera, are to be decided as the need presents itself.

Housing: A housing plan for the settlers should be made on the following: Unit cost; over-all cost. Housing may be of four- and five-room sizes, on suitable lots.

Data requisition on housing: Housing Authority.

Labor cost; material cost. Under material see what is the

best type of material for building, so that repairs may be kept at a minimum.

Need for masons, carpenters, electricians, lumber men, painters, stone cutters, bricklayers, plumbers, and all necessary tradesmen. The employment of Liberian technicians is necessary in addition to the employment of technicians who will be recruited from among the settlers.

On the basis of the size of the township, arrangements should be made for from one thousand to ten thousand house units to five thousand house units; so bulk estimates to meet the largest needs would be best. Likewise it would substantially reduce the unit cost.

The Housing Authority may find it cheaper to use local building material and may recommend an on-the-spot production of building material for housing. Types of house should be consistent so that production cost can be kept at a minimum, therefore, houses on the whole should conform, except in special cases, to the same pattern. Mass production is important.

A detailed statistical data can only be compiled after the following are known where housing is concerned:

Cost of Local building material and labor; cost of producing on-the-spot building material compared to the cost of importing building material.

Material: Sand, cement, limestone, bricks, cement blocks, steel girders, et cetera, and roofing to suit the climate.

Plumbing for water supply and sewage disposal must be a part of the housing plans.

Health: The health needs of the people should be met with special regard to hospitalization and an out-patient clinic. In accordance with the national health program, hospitals of the most modern design, application and equipment, must be an essential part of the health plan, and must dictate its selection of personnel to administer the hospitals and out-patient clinics. The out-patient clinics and dispensaries should be planned on the latest techniques now applied in medical science. Rural and outlying districts should be serviced with ambulance medical units which would serve as partial medical aid and health education. Also, it may be necessary to have visiting nurse or health assistants service for this part of medical assistance to rural and outlying districts.

Senator Langer. Mr. Gibbons, won't that all be a matter for the Liberian Government?

Mr. Gibbons. Absolutely, Mr. Chairman.

Senator Langer. Isn't that right?

Mr. Gibbons. Yes.

Senator Langer. That would not concern the Congress of the United States.

As I understand it, Mr. Cox, what you are interested in is to have this legislation provide for the migration of those colored folks who desire to do so, to immigrate to Liberia under whatever agreement may be reached with the Liberian Government as mutually satisfactory.

Mr. Cox. Yes, sir.

Senator Langer. Now, certainly it would seem to me all these plans you talk about, about the housing and all that, that is a problem for the Liberian Government. There is no objection to your filing it here if you want to file it, but it does seem to me that it has nothing to do with the problem we are facing.

Mr. Cox, if you want it all read, why, we will have it read.

Mr. Cox. No, just file it if you wish.

Senator Langer. It has no place here.

Mr. Gibbons. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator Langer. I am more interested in the problem as to how many you would judge would go. What arrangements would be made for the ships, and how would the transportation be paid for,

if it was the plan of you gentlemen that they should be transported by the Government free of charge through the proper appropriations which, as I understand it, is what you want?

Mr. Cox. That is right.

Senator Langer. Under arrangements whereby the Government of Liberia would do the screening?

Mr. Gibbons. Yes.

Senator Langer. If we depend somewhat on how many the government would take at any particular time, they might say five thousand, they might say ten, they might say half a million, but that would be a matter for the Liberian Government.

Have you contacted the Ambassador from Liberia, the present Ambassador?

Mr. Gibbons. We have talked with him, Mr. Chairman.

Senator Langer. Don't you think we ought to ask him to appear before this committee and testify?

Mr. Gibbons. Yes, sir.

Senator Langer. Does he feel that he has not that authority?

Mr. Gibbons. When we talked with him, Mr. Chairman, he informed us that he is in sympathy with the plan, but he had not received any orders from his government to take part in it.

Senator Langer. Of course, he could not testify unless the government asked him to testify.

Mr. Gibbons. Yes, sir.

Senator Langer. Have you taken it up with the Department of

State?

Mr. Gibbons. No, sir; not since this session. We talked with them in 1951, I guess, May 29, 1951.

Senator Langer. Certainly we would have to contact the Department of State here to find out what their attitude is. There are some representatives here from the State Department. Could you tell us about when we could get the viewpoint of the Department of State on this issue?

Mr. Feld. No, sir.

Senator Langer. You are not prepared to testify at this time, are you?

Mr. Feld. No.

Senator Langer. What position do you hold over in the State Department?

Mr. Feld. Officer in charge West Central and East African Affairs.

Senator Langer. The Chair will not file this letter he has at the present time, but I wondered if we cannot arrange to have the clerk read this letter, because it represents the attitude of the Liberian Government.

Mr. Holt. It represents the attitude of the Department of State, Mr. Chairman. It is addressed to Senator Connally, dated July 5, 1949.

Senator Langer. You see, this letter here in 1953, in February, refers back to that letter and says that their attitude,

the attitude of the Liberian Government, has not changed from the previous letter so that is why we are reading the letter of 1949.

Mr. Holt. "My dear Senator Connally:

"Reference is made to a letter received from the Committee on Foreign Relations under date of May 19, 1949, requesting the views of the Department in connection with S. 1880 introduced by Senator Langer proposing aid to persons desirous of immigrating to the Republic of Liberia.

"The bill, designed as it is, to encourage the movement of large numbers of persons to Liberia, would seem to be contrary to the existing immigration policy of the Liberian Government of limiting entry to selected persons of special training or skills. This policy has been established for the very sound reason that the country is incapable of assimilating large numbers of immigrants in its present backward state of economic and social development.

"In recent years the Government of the United States has supplied, and is continuing to supply, financial and other assistance to Liberia in an effort to improve economic and social conditions in the country. Considerable progress is being made in this regard, but much more needs to be accomplished in the opinion of the Department before the country will be in a position to absorb any large number of immigrants.

"During the past year or so there has been a movement of

small groups of West Indians to Liberia. Reports received in the Department indicate that many of these immigrants have quickly become disillusioned at conditions existing in the country and are anxious to return to their homeland or to emigrate elsewhere.

"It seems reasonable to assume that much the same situation would arise if large numbers of persons emigrated to Liberia under the provisions of S. 1880.

"Until such time as there is a change in the existing immigration policy of the Liberian Government and a substantial improvement in the social and economic conditions in that country, the Department is of the opinion that it is highly inadvisable to encourage the movement of any large numbers of persons to Liberia, as is the intent of S. 1880. The Department has been informed by the Bureau of the Budget that there is no objection to the submission of this report.

"Sincerely yours,

"For the Secretary of State,

"Ernest A. Gross, Assistant Secretary."

Just to make the record complete, Mr. Chairman, I think we should also put in it the fact that on February 13 of this year Van H. Brown, Jr., acting Assistant Secretary of State, wrote to Senator Wiley that, "No change has occurred in the immigration policy of the Liberian Government, and despite developments and improvements, many of which resulted from American assistance,

the social and economic conditions in that country have not improved to such an extent as to alter the Department's views."

Senator Langer. Off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Senator Langer. The meeting is adjourned, gentlemen.

(Whereupon, at 6:00 o'clock p.m., the subcommittee adjourned.)

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## Voluntary Migration Program And Plan Of Operation

For any Socio-economic plan such as ours to succeed, certain indispensable agents must be available in correct proportions. These agents are: Land, labor, capital and organization. In other words there must be present the essential factors of resources, man-power, machinery, finance and efficient management. Having the advantage of these agents and the degree to which all of them can be effectively co-ordinated, will determine the productivity, success and survival of the plan.

The extent to which these productive agents are at hand and how well can they be put in proper order are here discussed.

Liberia has a vast amount of <sup>fertile</sup> unoccupied land. Where labor is concerned, the immigrants with the population of Liberia suggest an ample supply. Regarding capital, at the moment this particular factor is purely prospective. Except for the outlook on production of labor through tilling the soil and other developments, there is no ready capital. Organization would be to form the settlers into communities of Rural and Urban groups on a preferential basis. The Rural settlers would be those to engage in agricultural production and the production of raw material. The Urban settlers would be those to process and market all production. Thus the creation of employment.

The Rural and Urban communities would, therefore, be harmonized into a single working group. A Planning Board to co-ordinate their functions is necessary.

The soil of Liberia is virgin and is capable of producing large quantities of tropical vegetation for food; other important crops such as cotton, cocoa, corn, rice, sugar-cane, wheat, etc; palm-kernal and other oil seeds are indigenous in that country.

The economy of the new settlers together with the population of Liberia is viewed in various distinctive phases and may be classified

as the following:

Commercial and industrial agriculture.

Housing.

Health.

Education.

Other industries.

General business.

Community Services.

Commercial and industrial agriculture could be made a profitable business in Liberia. Including the new settlers and the people that are already there, a usable market is substantial.

Agricultural products should be the basis of needs. Agricultural implements to be imported with regards to actual farmer's needs. Special regard should be given to the import of such types of farm implements that do not cause soil erosion after a few years. Together with the Liberian Department of Agriculture, it would be necessary to establish an Experimental Agricultural Station for the purpose of crop improvement and combating crop diseases, thus improving both quality and yield of crops. Questions of crop selection and rotation, etc are to be decided as the need presents itself.

Housing: A Housing plan for the settlers should be made on the following: Unit cost; Overall cost. Housing may be of 4 and 5 room sizes, on suitable lots.

Data requisit on Housing: Housing Authority.

Labor cost; material cost. Under material see what is the best type of material for building, so that repairs may be kept at a minimum.

Need for Masons, Carpenters, Electricians, Lumber men, Painters, Stone Cutters, Brick layers, Plumbers, and all necessary tradesmen. The employment of Liberian technicians is necessary in addition to the em-

ployment of technicians who will be recruited *from among the settlers* ~~in the United States.~~

On the basis of the size of the Township, arrangements should be made for from one thousand (1,000) to ten thousand (10,000) House Units to five hundred thousand (500,000) House Units; So bulk estimates to meet the largest needs would be best. Likewise it would substantially reduce the Unit cost.

The Housing Authority may find it cheaper to use local building material and may recommend an on the spot production of building material for Housing. Types of house should be consistent so that production cost can be kept at a minimum, therefore, houses on the whole should conform, except in special cases, to the same pattern. Mass production is important.

A detailed statistical data can only be compiled after the followings are known where Housing is concerned:

Cost of local building material and labor.

Cost of producing on the spot building material compared to the cost of importing building material.

Material: Sand, Cement, Limestone, Bricks, Cement Blocks, steel girders, etc, and roofing to suit the climate. Plumbing for water supply and sewage disposal must be a part of the Housing plans.

Health. The health needs of the people should be met with special regard to hospitalization and an out-patient clinic. ~~In accordance with the~~ National Health Program, hospitals of the most modern design, application and equipments, must be an essential part of the health plan, and must dictate its selection of personnel to administer the hospitals and out-patient clinics. The Out-Patient Clinics and Dispensaries should be planned on the latest techniques now applied in Medical Science. Rural and outlying districts should be serviced with Ambulance Medical Units which would serve as partial Medical Aid and Health Education. Also, it may be necessary to have visiting Nurse or Health ~~visiting~~

ant's Service for this part of Medical assistance to Rural and Outlying districts.

#### Health Authority.

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The Health Authority must correlate the health problems with the National health program, including the other medical services mentioned such as Rural Medical Service Units, Etc.

A Nurses' Home should be provided for with regard to future Nurses training needs, which can be met by the Hospital under the direction of the Health Authority.

Since the settlers would be in need of vaccination against trans-planting from a temperate to a semi-tropical zone, high priority on the Health program should be given to the recruiting of qualified Nurses in the very beginning of the migration as well as in the early stages of the establishment of the hospitals.

Water supply should be an integral consideration of the Health Authority. Arrangements for Reservoir facilities and conduit pipes to each home and building should be made. Water treatment and analysis on the most modern basis should be an essential concern of the Health Authority for the safety of the people. With the permission of the Government Health Department, proper implementation of this fundamental need should be a point <sup>of</sup> allowed arrangement.

#### Sanitation

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Sanitation for street cleaning and garbage disposal is also to be studied and arrange for by the Health Authority, in accordance with existing National laws and allowance for improvement and introduction of innovations in conformity with said laws provided for the health well-being. Sewage disposal is mandatory. Proper study and recommendations on this question should be made by the Health Authority and arrangements made in the community for it. Sanitation engineers are needed for this phase of work.

### Child Health Program.

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A carefully planned Child Health Program should be high on the ~~list~~ list of the ~~Health~~ Authority's arrangements. This Child Health Program must be looked after by the Health Authority, in cooperation with the Educational Board and the Community Service Board. The significance of the Child Health Care cannot be over-stressed.

A Dental Department of the Hospital should be included in the ~~first~~ original plans.

The health interest of the community by the Health Authority is a good baremeter. A healthy community is an asset not measurable in dollars alone but in all around advancement and progress. Use of techniques such as movie shorts to educate the community of its health need and responsibilities should be the Health Authority's concern. Much good can be done by this medium of information.

### Education.

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#### Board of Education.

The need of schools for the community is not debatable. However, the grade level of school will in the first stages be dependant on many factors. For the solution of this problem, it is suggested here, that it may be found necessary to establish Combination Elementary, Secondary and High School or Elementary and Secondary school together and High school separate. In the original layout of school lands and buildings, space should be allowed for distinct buildings for the grading of attendants.

The Board of Education must apprise itself of existing Liberian standards of Education, and <sup>if</sup> may find it necessary to integrate some of the features of contemporary Educational techniques used in the United States and other countries; the curriculum, however, is subject to approval by the Department of Education of the Liberian Government. Recruit and import of proper teachers and educational experts must be

made. Suggestion on scope of subjects are:

Manual Crafts as are taught in Vocational Schools in addition to straight Academic and Commercial courses. Campus grounds should be laid out according to a design that allows for both beauty and utility.

Including plans to meet Liberian educational requirements and integration in the community affairs of the country, it is viewed here, that layout of land should position the schools so that reasonably easy access is afforded the greatest number of students. It also may be necessary for the instituting of Evening Courses for adults. This idea can be included in future arrangements, as there may be adults who may avail themselves of this service. It is proposed here, that the precept of Compulsory Education be the underlying doctrine of the educational philosophy of the Board of Education. Equipments and disposition thereof should be on the accepted practices of the Liberian Department of Education. History textbooks will be those designated by the Liberian Government.

The Board of Education should make allowance for an up-to-date as possible a Science Department as funds will permit. This Science Building should be established as early as possible. Equipment and Staff for the teaching of Elementary and Advanced Physics, Biology, Chemistry, Botany, etc should be a special phase of the work. Elementary and Advanced Agronomy, Husbandry, etc should also be a part of the curricular on a preferentially selective basis. A comprehensive elastic plan for both the immediate and future needs of the community must be prepared with due care by the Board of Education with the many points herein before mentioned considered and incorporated.

#### Industry And Business.

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Board of Industry And Business.

A Board to handle Industry and Business should be formed. This

Board has a special task of arranging a program to be flexible enough to meet some of the needs of the community regarding employment and the improvement by reflection on the National Industrial needs of the Nation. Industrial development is needed. The Board must appraise it self of what is needed in Industrial activities that can be met from a reasonably capital outlay.

Employment and provision therefor, should be an essential in the calculations of the Board. Settlers must be able to contribute to ~~the~~ the work and growth of the community and thus benefit the Nation. Settlers who only want to settle cannot be afforded.

The Industrial Board should be able to have the widest possible views as to the many phases of industrial activities, but it must ~~not~~ remain within the realm of practical realities, as much of the success of the community will depend <sup>on</sup> the proper application of industrial techniques.

#### Suggestions.

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1. Return for investment
2. Employment for settlers.
3. Improvement of living conditions.

#### General economics.

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The driving power behind all economic activities arises from the wants of human beings. Every individual wants food, drink, clothing and shelter to keep alive and comfortable. Beyond these things, he wants a home, convenient transportation and communication, social prestige, education, political prestige and some assurance of his future well-being.

#### Consumption. Consumers.

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Consumption includes all ~~the~~ activities and ~~the~~ processes involved

in the satisfaction of human wants.

### Money.

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Money is a universal means of purchasing power. With it, one can obtain the desired goods and services. But the money itself is important only as a means rather than as an end.

There are many business and industrial efforts that can and must be engaged in and be part of the community plans.

### Community Services

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A Board on Community Services should be formed. It should be advisable in the selection of personnel for said Board that wide latitude be given in the selection from the people of the Community. The reason for this will be clear when we understand that the purpose of this Board is to primarily be concerned with:

1. Social Service
2. Maintenance of Community appearance.
3. Care for the Public domain especially regarding parks, playgrounds, etc.
4. Play houses and places of entertainments.

The Board by virtue of its construction will concern itself with the adjustment problem of the people of the Community. It is not expected that full adjustment will be speedy or is it to be assumed that the Board will be negligent in its duties. Every means to abett and facilitate adjustment should be the paramount concern of the Board. The Board must formulate as experiences dictate a workable plan for the orderly relations of the Community. The dignity of the individual is important to the Community as a whole; no individ-

nal interest is more important than the Community's interest. On the whole, the Board's duties will have to do with recreational matters, adjusting settlers to a new environment, educating settlers to a consciousness of their Civic and National responsibilities to make them useful and productive Citizens for the Republic.

## Notes.

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## General Economics, ..... The Factors Of Production,

The three basic factors of production are land, labor and equipment. Land includes all material resources, such as soil, minerals, water, air, etc. It supplies the raw material for production and the opportunity for extractive industries to make them ready for the process by manufacturers for distribution.

### Labor.

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Labor is human effort; material or physical; executive or technical.

There are three (3) auxiliary factors in production; Management, Government and Money.

The task of management is to make goods at a profit. Management co-ordinates land, labor and equipment into a going business and keeps costs sufficiently below receipts to make dividends and surpluses.

Government renders economic services that are essential in the productive process; protects property rights, enforces contracts, regulates competition, etc.

Money: All business is animated by the desire to make money profit. The money economy controls, guides and dominates the production economy.

Division of Labor: If every resident in a Community were to do his own carpenter work, each man's tools would be idle most of the time, but if a carpenter does the work for the community, one set of tools will be kept in continued use.

Another division of labor is by stages, which may be illustrated by almost any product one might choose. In the case of bread, for ex-

**General Economics.**  
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ample, growing the cereal, transporting and storing them, grinding them into flour and finally baking the bread constitute a series of stages typical of modern production methods.

Another type of labor division is territorial; In the U.S.A citrus is cultivated in Fla & Calif; wheat growing is in the Central & Northwestern States; cotton and tobacco in the South; coal, iron mining and general manufacturing in the Northeast.

These are other divisions of labor such as sex, etc.